a hillside, the roofs of the lower three serving as
porches for those above. The population of this community
was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house
is single, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without
glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an
indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings
meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This
village boasts no specialized constructions and is without
shops. Larger villages, such as Butaa or Dyaus, have a
number of buildings for special purposes, for example,
the police post and the Protestant church in Dyaus, and a
definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards
of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences
of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the
smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic
animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during
cold weather, and in some localities in the area cows are
used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. The
"agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the
Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often,
but in the Ruwandan district it is possible to find isolated
farm settlements of as many as one or two houses. The
Batutsi, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a
black goat-hair tent flanked with rugs, in general appearance
not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of
these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer
guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique design.

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system of values is always expressed in terms of money. [437]

The town of Ruwenkuru, occupying the sloping top of a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. As a steeper part of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazaar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (Jumah Misikiti), the garage, and two storehouses. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town. [364]

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazaar will 361 397

CHAPTER IV

HOUSE, HOUSE, AND HOUSE

The town of Rowanduz, aside from its government buildings and bazar, contains some 800 houses. The four mosques, and the club, the only remaining specialized constructions, will be discussed in later sections, and the house itself, with other material features of daily life, such as diet and clothing, may be treated here. The town has three general divisions, the first largely unoccupied, the second containing both shops and dwellings, and the third almost wholly residential. It would be incorrect to say that building has been completely without reference to any overall plan, for, although there has certainly been no conscious attempt to build according to any preconceived design, Rowanduz, with its specialized [344] • being surrounding the principal mosque and its lanes of houses, some of them cut at right angles to the main thoroughfare, follows certain very generalized outlines of the constitution of towns elsewhere. Any construction, [175] however, has been greatly conditioned by the land, because beneath the sunny topsoil there are hard, irregular crags of rock, and both houses and streets have out of necessity adapted themselves to their contours. There has been little attempt, particularly in the element of any but the most businesslike sense, to level or to build up the

CHAPTER III

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

These forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one incomparable, the two others extremely

The incomparable form is the black tent, *reshaP*, the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, and only to detail by Fridtjof and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of existence as well as of life.

The two variants of the customary form are the *kal* hut, *kâpâ*, only erected for a single summer's habitation, and the permanent house, *xânî* or *mal*. *Kâpâ* huts are put up around the villages of Tuqurra and Bakuwa at the beginning of June when the summer labour usually begins. They are erected on the district's harvested winter fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in plateaux. The framework of the *kal* has consists of 6, 8 or 9 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones piled around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin poles reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls*, but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of door scenes. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished *kal* huts were shown down to these two villages). The huts do not have flooring or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent homes, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house.

It is said that in the trading centre of Tutmilla, higher up in the mountains near the Iranian or Iraq, which families move out in the hot plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. (Say sometime that "in Shaqlawa families are erected in the fruit gardens"), but does not further describe them.

The permanent home is built of various materials, but is everywhere settled in shape, with a flat clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the gabled roof of the Turks). In the mountains near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, [illegible] the walls of the houses are built

[SEE CONTINUATION ON P. 28 --- 6/10/1997]

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